

Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 IO-03 L-01 INR-05 SP-02

PM-01 EA-06 /045 W

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P R 311600Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1924

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1439

STADIS//////////

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR RH ZA US

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: ZAMBIAN APPEAL FOR US HELP ON NEGOTIATIONS

REF: LUSAKA 1383

1. SUMMARY. AT REQUEST OF PRESIDENT KAUNDA UPON HIS RETURN TO LUSAKA, HIS ADVISOR MARK CHONA SUMMONED ME TO STATE HOUSE FOR ONE-AND-A-HALF-HOUR LONG CONVERSATION JULY 31 IN WHICH HE PLEADED URGENTLY FOR USG INITIATIVE IN DIRECT APPROACH TO IAN SMITH TO MOVE RHODESIAN QUESTION ALONG TOWARD NEGOTIATED RATHER THAN ARMED SETTLEMENT. CALL WAS ESSENTIALLY REPEAT AND REEMPHASIS OF JULY 23 REQUEST. REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS FOR REPLY TO CHONA. END SUMMARY.

2. CHONA WENT OVER MUCH THE SAME GROUND OF OUR JULY 23 CONVERSATION BUT FOCUSED MORE HEAVILY ON FOLLOWING CONCESSIONS AGREED TO BY ANC NATIONALISTS AND SMITH DURING THEIR NEGOTIATIONS OF PAST SIX MONTHS:

A) ACCEPTANCE OF UDI AS A GIVEN WORKING FRAMEWORK IN WHICH SMITH ADDRESSED BY ANC AS "PRIME MINISTER";

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B) RELEASE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES AND RESTRICTEES AT

CONCLUSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE;

C) DITTO FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS;

D) CONVOCATION OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON;

E) ACCEPTANCE OF UK CHAIRMANSHIP;

F) RECOGNITION OF IMPERFECTIONS OF CEASEFIRE (NEITHER SIDE TO MAKE AN ISSUE OVER ISOLATED KILLINGS WHICH CONSIDERED BY BOTH AS INEVITABLE IN TENSE, UNSETTLED SITUATION);

G) ACCEPTANCE BY NATIONALISTS OF QUALIFIED FRANCHISE RATHER THAN INSISTENCE ON ONE-MAN-ONE VOTE.

3. CHONA SAID ONLY VENUE FOR PREPARATORY CONFERENCE OUTSIDE RHODESIA STILL AT ISSUE. ANC PLAN ENVISAGES PERHAPS TWO MORE PRELIMINARY NEGOTIATING SEASONS TO BE HELD OUTSIDE RHODESIA (SMIT FAVORS PREPARATORY CONFERENCE INSIDE RHODESIA). BOTH SIDES WOULD PRESENT DETAILED POSITIONS, THEN ADJOURN TO DRAFTING COMMITTEES INSIDE RHODESIA. SECOND FORMAL SESSION AGAIN OUTSIDE RHODESIA WOULD BE DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION AND DECISION ON DRAFT PROPOSALS. FOLLOWING THIS, PREPARATORY CONFERENCE WOULD ADJOURN AND BE RECONSTITUTED AS FINAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, TRANSFERRING LOCATION TO LONDON, AS BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED.

4. CHONA SAID IMMEDIATE NEED WAS FOR CATALYST TO MOVE SMITH ON VENUE FOR NEXT NEGOTIATING SESSIONS. DECRIED LACK OF HELPFULNESS OF BRITISH. I SAID I UNDERSTOOD ZAMBIANS AND SOUTH AFRICANS AGREED UK HAD NO ROLE UNTIL FINAL ACT. CHONA SAID UK INTERVENTION NEEDED NOW, BUT THEY BEING OVERLY CAUTIOUS BECAUSE OF THEIR HEAVY ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN RHODESIA. CHONA CHARGED BRITISH WITH TIP-TOEING WHEN THEY SHOULD BE HOLDING UP SPECTRE OF CIVIL WAR TO SMITH AND PUSHING HIM BACK TO NEGOTIATING TABLE.

5. USG MAKES SERIOUS MISTAKE, CHONA SAID, IF IT LAGS BEHIND BRITISH OR WAITS FOR THEM TO TAKE LEAD. I DREW ATTENTION TO USG VIEW THAT HMG IS SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY WITH PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY. CHONA SAID CIRCUMSTANCES CHANGED. SMITH IS CLAIMING HE IS LEADING PROTECTOR OF WESTERN INTERESTS AND DEFENDER AGAINST COMMUNISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. USG HAS ROLE TO PLAY IN CONVINCING SMITH THAT HE MISTAKEN, ALSO THAT HIS TACTICS ARE OPEN INVITATION TO ENTRY OF COMMUNIST FORCES IN REGION
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IF NEGOTIATIONS FAIL. SMITH'S INTRANSIGENCE IS TENDING TO BREAK PATIENCE OF ANC NATIONALISTS AS WELL AS FOUR NEIGHBORING PRESIDENTS (KAUNDA, NYERERE, MACHEL AND KHAMA) AND COULD ULTIMATELY BRING RUSSIANS AND CHINESE ON SCENE, AS IS HAPPENING IN ANGOLA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1439

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6. I DREW CHONA'S ATTENTION TO RECENT EXAMPLES OF US SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT (ADMINISTRATION TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE ON AFRICA) AND GAVE HIM COPY OF DEPT ASSISTANT SECRETARY MULCAHY'S JULY 29 STATEMENT. CHONA IMMEDIATELY HIT ON IDEA OF MULCAHY (WHOM HE KNOWS PERSONALLY) REVISITING RHODESIA UNANNOUNCED TO MAKE FOREGOING POINTS TO SMITH. AS POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE CHONA THOUGHT SOMEONE FROM SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE ON AFRICA WITH OFFICIAL MESSAGE FROM ADMINISTRATION, OR PERHAPS AMBASSADOR JOE PALMER MIGHT ALSO SERVE, I REMINDED CHONA OF USG POLICY OF NON-RECOGNITION OF SMITH REGIME. SAID I SYMPATHIZED WITH ZAMBIAN ANXIETY TO KEEP RHODESIAN PROBLEM FROM GETTING OUT OF HAND, BUT QUESTIONED ACCEPTABILITY TO WASHINGTON OF CHONA'S SUGGESTION FOR VISIT OF RANKING US OFFICIAL. NEVERTHELESS, PROMISED TO PASS ON HIS SUGGESTIONS.

7. CHONA URGED THAT IF USG DECISION MADE TO APPROACH SMITH, WE INCLUDE ENDORSEMENT OF MODERATING ROLE OF BISHOP MUZOREWA WHO HE SAID BECOMING INCREASINGLY DISCOURAGED THAT NEGOTIATIONS MAY FAIL AND CONTINUES TO BE FEARFUL FOR HIS LIFE. HE REMAINING IN LUSAKA UNTIL OUTLOOK FOR NEGOTIATIONS CLEARER. CHONA
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COMPLIMENTED MUZOREWA FOR HAVING GROWN WITH ANC LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION, HE SAID MUZOREWA HAD ESTABLISHED REASONABLE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH NKOMO AND SITHOLE "EVEN THOUGH THERE BOUND TO BE DIFFERENCES AMONG OLD POLITICAL RIVALS."

8. COMMENT AMO RECOMMENDATION. (A) WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHAT I MIGHT SAY TO CHONA IN WAY OF REPLY TO HIS REQUESTS OF JULY 23 AND 31. INASMUCH AS SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE ON AFRICA FOLLOWING WASHINGTON HEARINGS WOULD BE UNDERSTANDABLE. IS DEPT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO CONSIDER HAVING ONE OF MEMBERS OF SUB-COMMITTEE SEE SMITH QUIETLY OR OTHERWISE TO REITERATE USG POLICY IN FAVOR OF MAJORITY RULE AND NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT? (B) PERSONALLY, IDEA STRIKES ME AS TIMELY AND REASONABLE NOT ONLY IN OUR OWN INTERESTS IN THE AREA, BUT AS SUPPORT FOR THOSE AFRICAN LEADERS MOST INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED WITH NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. CHONA NOTED THESE ARE SAME FOUR (KAUNDA, NYERERE, MACHEL AND KHAMA) WHO "TOOK A STAND" AGAINST GOING TO KAMPALA FOR OAU CONFERENCE. HE SAID THEY WILL STAND EQUALLY FIRM FOR ARMED SETTLEMENT IF SMITH REFUSES TO RESPOND TO EXPIRING OFFER FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. (C) AS FOR CHONA'S CONCERN ABOUT PRESENCE OF SAG TROOPS IN RHODESIA, I BELIEVE OUR QUESTIONS ABOUT THEIR REAL MILITARY IMPORTANCE PLUS PERHAPS ASSURANCES FROM BRAND FOURIE, DURING RECENT LUSAKA VISIT, MAY HAVE DISSUADED CHONA FROM HARBORING U
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